302 water at a spring, crossing brooks, and on similar occasions.
515 Sometimes children and, at times, even adults cover their hair, scalp, and other parts of the body, sometimes the entire body, with a light gray layer of paint made of clay, ashes, or the marly excrement of beasts of prey that is frequently found in the steppes. This is not a festive adornment, as is often the case when adults paint themselves (see p. 67 , 127), but is intended to free the skin of small parasites and to keep it smooth.

304 Tattooing (urusago) I have observed much more seldom in Urundi than in Ruanda and Uha, [29] and then only in the form of decorative scars, never colored tattooing on the surface of the skin. In Urundi, too, it is mainly the Batussi who are tattooed, and, as in Ruanda, the patterns extend over the upper part of the arms, the two halves of the chest from the shoulder down to the area of the navel, and both halves of the back from the shoulder to the waist. As in Ruanda, the patterns consist mainly of finger length half-moons which in great numbers are placed in a row and are generally connected in groups of two by a third crescent which interlocks with the open side of the sickle; the total effect is that of a chain-like pattern (see Fig. 7). Each line consists of many parallel cuts made by a knife (Fig. 6) and caused to swell by rubbing on ashes and euphorbia juice, so that they finally form a thick scar which stands as high as one centimeter above the surface of the skin. Practitioners skilled in medicine do the tattooing. Other patterns consist of zigzag lines, ribbon-shaped parallel rows of lines running across the shoulders like broad suspenders, or button-shaped scars, like thick inoculation scars, in rows on the upper arm and in the center of the chest. Other irregular clusters of scars are not decorative tattooing but incisions for local body pains or wound scars resulting from violent injuries.

304 In my opinion it is improbable that this tattooing was originally practiced only by the Batussi and was imitated by the
● 171 Bahutu and Batwa, as was stated by M. Weiss (No. 33, p. 93). This type of tattooing is quite unknown to the Hamitic peoples of Africa, but it is very common among the Bantu of the upper Nile and Congo regions and of the western and southern regions

[Text continues on page 43]

304 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha,
171 Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

[287] Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth
439 (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south,
177 and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
[462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
[262] food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjampororő, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

272 One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, especially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the
[171] same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

576 a religious character (see p. 95 , types of greeting). This is
231 possible and quite probable, considering the solemnity with which the long greeting [47] ceremony is practiced by those participating in it. It must be remembered, however, that very solemn and extended salutations are also customary among other East African tribes and that they have absolutely no religious content. They have their source simply in the general urge of the Negroes toward involved forms of speech and dignified behavior. In a shorter form, the "cattle greeting"
● [171] is also used by the Banjaruanda who have also taken it over from their Batussi. Even the Batwa, who never own cattle, have acquired it.

Second only to cattle, sheep (intama; Plate 24a) are con-
231 sidered the most valuable domestic animal. Nevertheless, sheep are less numerous in Urundi than goats since they are more difficult to raise and they are not as fecund as goats. The Barundi have two breeds of sheep: a medium-sized woolly type without a fatty tail and a bigger fatty-tailed sheep. Both of them are dappled or white, rarely black. Both are raised
[281] only for their hides which are used either for domestic consumption (cloak, blankets, etc.) or as trade objects in exchange for iron hoes, salt, and other necessities. A small number of sheep are used for sacrifices and oracles. Neither the Batussi
[262] nor the Bahutu eat the meat (the Bahutu only eat it on rare occasions), but the Batwa are quite fond of it.

Goats (impene) are much more numerous in Urundi. They are of a breed with long legs, rather short bodies, and short, dappled or yellowish-gray hair (Plate 24a). This breed is strong, resistant, easily satisfied, and very fecund; a litter of three or four kids is quite frequent. Goats and sheep often are sent to the pasture together, but wherever grass is sparse, only goats find sufficient fodder while the sheep and cattle have
[262] to be driven to better pastures. The Batussi are as reluctant to eat goat meat as mutton, and the Bahutu seldom eat it, but
[231] goat skins are an important item in the bartering trade of the Barundi, and for this reason the number of goats has been

4/2 241 acute angle joins it to a wooden handle whose club-shaped end has a hole for this purpose, made with red-hot iron. In most cases the handle is so short (about three quarters of a meter) that the person using it in the fields always has to stoop quite low. Usually only the right hand is used for gripping the hoe while loosened stones, weeds, and the produce of the field are collected with the left hand. Hoes with handles as long as one and a quarter meter are also used, however. In northern Ruanda and on Lake Kivu such long-handled hoes predominate. Both hands are used to grip them, and they do not require one to work in such a stooped position as do those with shorter handles.

For digging holes to sow beans, peas, corn, and other produce, a piece of broken-off reed or wood is used at times. This piece, however, does not thereby become a permanent implement, that is, a "digging stick";[1] holes in the soft soil are mostly dug with the fingers. On the other hand, the short hatchet (ischenjo), shaped like a segment of a circle, is a permanent piece of equipment used for clearing the ground of underbrush. The same is true of the bent hewing knife (umuhoro; [171] see Plate 46), characteristic of the interlacustrine region, which appears in the hand of the old Egyptian harvest god. It is also used here as a harvest knife, besides having many other uses.

241 Thus, the farming techniques of the Barundi are merely hoe-culture, and the produce of their fields only hoe-products [as contrasted to plow-culture and its products]. Bananas and beans are the main agricultural produce. Bananas thrive everywhere, but they grow well only up to an altitude of approximately 2,000 meters. Beans grow in somewhat higher altitudes. Finally, peas are entirely absent in the lowland, but they are quite frequent in the higher regions of central Urundi. They are the sole agricultural product found in the areas of greatest elevation. Corn is widely grown in the Tanganyika region and in the valley of the Ruzizi, but it is found in the interior areas to a much smaller extent than is generally assumed. In the dry eastern part of Urundi where bananas become scarce, corn, interspersed with beans, is often cultivated on artifically irrigated valley floors. Peanuts are also abundant in the Ruzizi and Tanganyika areas, but in the highlands of the interior they are only sparsely

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[297] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

295 The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long, thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for
[462] keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.

285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
● 171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
571] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

614 It appears, however, that the exogamy of the clans is not entirely unrestricted. It seems that members of a Batussi clan cannot enter into marriage with the members of all other Batussi clans, nor can the members of a Bahutu clan marry the members of any other Bahutu clan. It seems rather that the member of a clan is restricted in his choice of a wife or husband to a certain number of other clans, most probably to those having the same totem (umusiru). As among other peoples practicing totemistic exogamy, marriages may originally have taken place between old totemic cult groups founded upon animistic concepts (No. 43, p. 162). It appears that in this case also marriages are restricted to clans which have the same totem or belong to totem groups which entertain friendly relations with each other. Among other East African tribes, for example, among the Wagogo [Gogo], Wahehe, Bafipa, Banjoro, and Baganda, marriage is at least not excluded if the partners have the same totem (No. 49, p. 164). In any case it is not the identity of the totem but only the membership in the same kin group, i.e., consanguinity, which is the determining element in exogamy. Evidently exogamous and totemic groups have different origins even where they coincide (No. 49, p. 166).

614 In the rest of East Africa exogamous, totemic clans exist
●17 among the Sulu [Zulu] (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 380), the Wangoni (395), Wagogo (402), Wahehe (404), Waheia [Haya] (406), Wayao [Yao], Makua, Makonde (406), Massai (408), Watakomba (420), Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Kamasia [Kamasya] (426), Wakawirondo [Kavirondo] (448), Basoga (457), Baganda (472), Banjoro (513), Batoro [Toro] (531), Banjankole (535), Galla (540), Basiba (No. 31, pp. 5-6), Bafipa (No. 47, pp. 131-135), Wakamba [Kamba], Wataweta [Taveta], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], Wabena [Bena], Wanjamwesi, Wasukuma, [Sukuma], Wasango [Sango], Wawemba, and others (No. 49, pp. 122-124). If among these tribes the clans are not exogamous -- as among the Wahehe and the Massai -- the subclans into which the clans are divided practice exogamy. Often there are four clans and

614 almost everywhere the totem is called musiro or umusiru (pl., 171 abasiru).

In Urundi only the royal kin group, the Baganwa clan, is 614 not strictly bound by the rules of exogamy. Its members may 643 marry members of other clans of the high Batussi nobility (exogamy), or they may marry other Baganwa (endogamy). The king of Urundi himself always practices exogamy and marries into one of the four (or six?) highest clans (pp. 99, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). Under exceptional circumstances the king in both Urundi and Ruanda may, or must, as the case may be marry even his own sister or daughter (see p. 182 [not translated]).

Among the Bahima of Ankole, Unjoro, Ufipa, among 614 the Baganda and the Galla or Oromo, the kings and princes 643 of royal blood may practice endogamy within the royal kin 171 group and may even marry their own sisters while all the other clans are exogamous (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 523, 538, 541; No. 27, p. 105; No. 47, pp. 49, 132; Emin Bey, Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 120).

[102] As an extreme form of endogamy, marriage with a sister is practiced in East Africa only in cases of emergency when the ruling dynasty is unable to preserve the purity of its blood by any other connection. It probably is or was practiced by the ruling families of other peoples past and present only if the dynasty, as, for example, the Bahima, came either as peaceful immigrants or as conquering invaders and originally formed an alien element which excluded any miscegenation with the subjugated group (No. 43, p. 150).

614 From the fact that there are always several clans with the same totem it may be concluded that these clans originally belonged to the same tribe which later split into two or more kin groups and clans as a result of growth while nevertheless keeping

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
● 171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 775 171 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49, pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

614 Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

586 For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.
[587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

587 After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

587 In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
171 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
● [171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

839 marriage and is pleasing to men. During this execrable act, they pronounce certain oaths or, rather imprecations: witsche inka ninokura ndasy'inka. In addition, they use various means to obtain greater pleasure for themselves. In general they use plants or roots of plants and trees with which they rub the labia." Van der Burgt adds in a letter to me: "His perfricationibus labia extenduntur, ut flavescentes prostent et volumen vel longitudinem extraordinariam adspirantur. Haec consuetudo generalis tanquam nationalis considerari potest non solum in Urundi et Ruanda, sed etiam generatim inter tribus Africae interioris, paucis exceptis v. Wasukuma. Ergo primo loco non voluptas procuranda intenditur, sed puellae volunt 'pulchras se facere,' quia permulti adolescentes nunquam puellam in matrimonium ducerent, quae talia labia non habet. Post matrimonium se abstinent ab illa manipulatione." [Tr., "By means of this friction they extend the labia so that they become yellow and protrude, and they try to give them an extraordinary size and length. This custom may be considered [171] a general or national one not only in Urundi and Ruanda but also among the majority of tribes of central Africa with few exceptions, as, for instance, the Wasukuma. Consequently, it is not primarily intended as a means of obtaining pleasure, but the [826] girls simply wish to 'make themselves pretty,' since very many young men would not marry a girl who did not have such labia. After marriage the girls abstain from this manipulation."

I could not learn anything about the puberty rites; how- 881 ever, they most certainly are celebrated. Van der Burgt does not report anything on this subject either (No. 19, p. 394). In 304 any case, boys are not circumcised nor are girls infibulated. Only the Batwa, who in contrast to the Batussi and the Bahutu practice deformation of the teeth, sharpen the two upper incisors with a knife as an act to announce puberty (No. 19, pp. 105, 155).

I also was unable to ascertain whether the youths who had 561 reached puberty joined a social club or formed a special "age

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the
● 171

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa,"
● 17) Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose
[766] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

171 Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

768 In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a 775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place an 769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca- 766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and 661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is [761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

775 agility conjures up the idea of the breath-like fleetingness of the soul, especially in snakes, lizards, and birds and also in unpleasant animals like toads, crocodiles, hyenas, and others. Apparently the members of certain clans all turn into specific animals, the totem animal (umusiru) of the clan (see p. 102). In general the first worm leaving the decaying corpse of a person is regarded as the vehicle of his soul until it has choosen another definite residence. As mentioned on p. 115, the first worm leaving the corpse of a king is therefore fed with milk until it turns into a large python who is worshipped as a god. The souls of great batwale turn into other snakes, lions, and leopards, who then reside in the holy groves (imana) near the graves. From there the snakes often visit the huts of the family and the mother of the family regards them as soul animals of the deceased family members and feeds them milk. The same [171] is true of the Galla, the Massai, and the Kaffir [Xosa] of South Africa (No. 41, p. 36; No. 19, p. 354). The idea of divine punishment, purification, and expiatory transmigration of souls which missionaries in particular read into this transfer of human souls into animals was certainly foreign to the Barundi originally. The fundamental notion of such a "transmigration of souls" is rather the totemic affinity of a human kin group with a particular animal species (see p. 102). The Barundi are, however, in the least disturbed by the internal contradiction contained in these notions, namely, the fact that the animal, tree, rock, stream, etc., which is occupied by the soul of the deceased person, would then have to have two souls. The logic of Negroes is different from that of Europeans.

The question of the immortality of the soul, which, of course, is strongly emphasized in the teachings of the Christian missionaries, leaves the non-Christianized Murundi as cold as all other East African Negroes. His imagination and ethical needs are [119] satisfied by assuming that the soul survives death. He is not further concerned about how long this survival lasts. Perhaps he thinks, as most other African natives do, that souls do not live on for eternity but that they gradually become weaker and smaller and finally disappear entirely (No. 41, p. 41) or that after the soul has entered an animal its life will be extinguished with that of the animal.

794 (No. 19, pp. 220, 292, 463, 516), so it is impossible to ob-
575 tain a clear picture of the nature of the Kubandwa cult of the Barundi from his writings. However, his accounts corespond essentially to the descriptions of the Imandwa secret society of Ruanda which have been given to us by Father Arnoux and the missionary Johanssen (No. 44 and No. 39, pp. 96-101). Thus, we can obtain many insights concerning Urundi from their writings. Quite correctly van der Burgt refers to similar cults of the "Watschwesi" (Batschwesi) fraternities in Ussuwi, Ussumbwa, Usindja, and Unjamwesi. In their nocturnal orgies have been preserved the last traces of religious cults and cult societies which still function openly as national institutions in Urundi, Uha, and Ruanda. The old relationship is also still recognizable in the hymns which are sung at such celebrations of the Watschwesi in Unjamwesi, Usindja, and in eastern Urundi. It is noteworthy that their lyrics are in the Old Kirundi language (No. 19, pp. 220, 463).

794 Father van Thiel, too, reports that in eastern Ussuwi at
575 the ceremony of the Kubandwa, the admission to the society
198 of the ababandwa, a ritual language called luchwesi is used. Father van Thiel lists a few dozen words (No. 24, p. 57), for example: bulege, bow; milasa, arrow; migasi, meat; muto, fire; masugunu, milk; muyara, head; manono, teeth; agawesa, eyes. It will have to be investigated whether this luchwesi is identical with Old Kirundi (cf. pp. 149, 330). Czekanowski gives a few specimens of the secret language of the babandwa in Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 316-317).

794 The following is known about the ababandwa in Ruanda.
575 According to legend, the historical high priest Riangombe, be-
171 fore dying, expressed the desire [125] to be worshipped by the Batussi as well as by the Bahutu and the Batwa, without differentiation by caste. For this reason they all, without differentiation, dedicate themselves to him in the Kubandwa ceremony. It appears that this tradition merely means that the fraternity was extended to include the Batussi, for according to tradition

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples ● [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 784 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

614 825 with their totems or even with other animals, to render them harmless or to excite them against their enemies.

This, however, is a belief that will soon disappear, for the Banyarwanda take small notice of their totems nowadays.

538 As far as oral literature and folklore in general are concerned, one may assert without risk of error that the Banyarwanda have no reason to envy the neighboring peoples.

There may be few Black groups who managed to preserve so many and such ancient traditions, made all the more precious by the fact that they help us understand more than one facet of their history. This will be shown readily /61/ in the course of this work. We believe that the Hamites, who are given to the things of the mind and have organized the country methodically, must be justly regarded as the chief authors of this literary development.

181 The Bahutu of Ruanda owe to these same Batutsi the appreciable advantage of being less backward, less "primitive" than many of their fellow Bantu of Central Africa. Because they were less isolated than most of the members of the tiny neighboring states at the time of European penetration, the Banyawanda found themselves in a situation more favorable to the progress of civilization thanks to the centralization of the Hamitic state.

● 171 The inhabitants of Ruanda, as we have just pointed out, have more than one trait in common with the other African tribes. In speaking on the subject, Maurice Delafosse provides the following explanation, "The African Negro peoples, as different from one another as they may seem to a superficial observer, have a unified character which may be attributed to their common ethnic origins and to the relative similarity of the physical, economic, and social environments where they first developed and where they later evolved." (1)

1. Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro African Civilizations/.

157 As for the reader who wishes to know what to think of the Blacks, we must answer in all sincerity that it is very difficult to

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[171]

time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established. It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ... the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function... such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

783 The weapon must be both "punished" and "purified" at the same time.

If the weapon involved is a spear that was successfully retrieved, the sorcerer first unhafts it. The spearhead is set aside, its tip (umuhunda) broken to pieces, and a few wooden scrapings are removed from the shaft (uruti). This debris is placed in a small gourd of the type called idegede (1). If the actual weapon is not available, the

1. Henceforth, the family may not eat this kind of gourd. (La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, op. cit., p. 293.)

purifier works with a similar weapon, but a used one. Then the gourd is filled with beer. Owing to its mystic usage and to the scrapings that were placed in it, this gourd bears the name of akabatongera in sorcerers' terms. The relatives who are present take a mouthful of this pombe. The gourd with the scrapings and spearhead is then entrusted to someone who is an outsider (umuse) to the clan or to the family, and who goes /417/ and hides it in an isolated spot, such as a thicket, a cave, or a hole of some sort. The same is done with any other weapon that may have been used to commit the crime, arrow, sword, or knife.

783 ..."A practice of this kind," says Levy-Bruhl," is almost universal among African tribes.

171 "Those ceremonies are carried out because it is thought that the weapon bears calamity or fatality with it. This is the case among the Akamba. According to them, a weapon once used to commit a murder will continue to be the instrument of new deaths. No ceremony, charm, or magic of any sort, however, could ever exhaust this deadly property. The weapon will continue to kill indefinitely through its master's hand, no matter what he may do. Since there is no way of removing this curse, the Mkamba uses guile. He places the weapon on a path or at some spot where a passer-by is likely to see it. Once the latter has picked it up, the deadly influence of the weapon falls upon him and the first owner is freed from it...." (1)

241 412 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

[171]

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-

[142]

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

land and bush.

311 245 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at least this is the case in Kisaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye, Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170]

Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

wide. One piece is wrapped around the loins (kukenyara), the other is thrown over the shoulder (kuitera). For the shoulder pieces red prints are popular, but the colors are not gawdy. The cotton materials, like the skins, are smeared with butter. 291

The Bahutu for the most part wear barkcloth a great deal and, near the missions, cotton clothing also. Cloth and skins are worn in the same manner as the cotton material of the Batutsi.

291 171

Fig. 58. Braided Apron for Young Women and Children, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9923. 33 centimeters wide.)

The Bahunde, who are physically and linguistically closely related to the Bahutu, draw a piece of barkcloth between their legs, like their western neighbors of the Congo Basin, instead of wrapping it around their hips, as the Banyaruanda do with the kukenyara. We may presume that the West African method of drawing it between the legs is the original custom, even among the Bahutu. This is confirmed by the fact that the Banyaruanda also wear waist bands, often decorated with glass beads, under their cotton clothing. At one time these probably served to fasten the barkcloth drawn between the legs. Wrapping the clothing around the hips makes these bands superfluous. The wrapped lengths of material seem to be the result of [172] a later East African influence, which could also have come from the Batutsi. The people cling to this principle of dress in their old costumes which they now wear only for rituals and festive occasions.

Fig. 59. Waistband of Strung Pieces of Porcupine Quills, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3954. 161 centimeters long.)

Married women wrap a soft piece of cowhide (inkanda) around their hips. It reaches to their ankles and is held and fastened with a 291

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with 346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of 343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine 171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts

1. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

with a cylindrical base of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [553] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different elements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[71] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon. They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298]

Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

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On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

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178 possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference
564 was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of
114 the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the
554 maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

554 Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them
564 to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of
178 their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds,
184 they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between
[162] Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to
[171] comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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dependency upon him? As in many cultures in which a king is a paternal and divine image, the Ruanda monarch certainly contributed towards the creation in Ruanda individuals of a feeling of belonging to a unit which presented some similarities to a family.

This was, it seems, how the Ruanda political and feudal structures, by their complexity, succeeded in keeping an equilibrium between, on one hand, the tendencies towards social disintegration that a caste system necessarily produces and, on the other, the minimal cohesion necessary to the maintenance of a social unit such as a nation.

(*b*) *Exploitation and protection of Hutu*

The Tutsi were confronted with the dilemma that all conquerors must solve when they settle on a new territory with the intention of staying permanently: are they going to draw upon the natural resources of the country themselves, using their own labour and equipment, and to remove from the area the aboriginal inhabitants by pushing them further on and even by exterminating them as a people, or are they to let them stay and use them by having them working for their benefit? Europeans who settled in North America adopted the first solution, they did not attempt to use Indian labour and they expelled the native population from their hunting areas and began to cultivate their country. The second method has been chosen in most parts of Africa south of the Sahara where Europeans have settled.

Whether Tutsi have explicitly considered this problem is immaterial here. In fact they have adopted the solution which was most advantageous to them. Being pastoralists and not numerous (in comparison with the Hutu peasants), they had no interest in expelling them. If this had been done, they would have had either to till the land themselves or to dispense with beer, peas, sorghum, &c. It was preferable for Tutsi to adopt what Oppenheimer calls the bee-keeper's policy (as opposed to the bear's policy who for the purpose of robbing the beehive, destroys it),[4] that is to say, to keep in the country peasants in order permanently to exploit their productive work. Those who control territory are not a dominant group; it is upon men that power is exerted.

We have seen how, through the political and feudal structures, the country's surplus resources were drained and concentrated in

[4] Oppenheimer, 1922, pp. 63 ff.